

freedom

Anarchist Weekly

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JULY 24 1965 Vol. 26 No. 23

A change of Faces in Algeria

THE RECENT OVERTHROW in Algeria of Ben Bella has been called a reactionary coup by the 'progressive left' and most of the Communist parties. In this line-up however the Chinese seem to be out of step and their early recognition of Colonel Houari Boumedienne, the new leader, is seen as a diplomatic mistake and a set-back to their increasing influence in Africa.

The international oil companies stand to lose by the new Franco-Algerian oil deal, which is on a 50-50 basis, whereby a 'co-operative association', a state company, is formed by the two countries. This of course gives the French Government a strong influence in its former colony.

Whether this can be claimed to be the reason for the overthrow of Ben Bella is questionable. The 'Friends of Algeria Committee', in their statement on the overthrow say that 'Two years ago at a similar juncture in the negotiations, the Algerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Khemisti, was shot dead by an unknown assassin and he was immediately replaced by Colonel Boumedienne's protégé, Bouteflika, who is now in power. It smells of oil.'

This committee supports Nasser in his present opposition to the West German Government. They say that Bonn 'is the heir of Nazi Germany and her close military alliance with Israel under cover of "reparations" is a menace to peace in the Middle East. Behind the present junta lurk Bonn and Washington'.

This all smells like an explanation by Communists or fellow-travellers. To them Ben Bella was in the Socialist camp and to this, Fidel Castro has added his piece. He actually ended his speech with a piece of good advice for all dictators, whether left, right or centre. 'If Ben Bella had been more ruthless, he would still be in power. Alas he was too kind.'

However, Ben Bella practised a funny sort of kindness, throwing into prison and exiling any sort of opposition. There

were rumours that Boumedienne was next on the list and so he had to act.

Before Algeria won its independence from France, this same struggle for power was going on. Then it was a struggle to eliminate other nationalistic groupings. The Algerian Nationalist Movement (MNA), of Messali Hadj was a victim and it seems that once this and others were eliminated, the struggle for power was then carried on within the FLN itself. The recent elevation of Boumedienne was a further outcome of this internal struggle, and with the support of the security forces and the army, he is in a formidable position.

Whether this change of leadership will bring any improvements in the social or economic conditions of the Algerian people remains to be seen, but what is uppermost in the minds of those supporters of the 'left' at the moment is what will be the ultimate fate of Ben Bella and they are calling a campaign for his release. Fair enough, but I do not recall them agitating for the release of the victims of Ben Bella.

The Week, which is a News analysis for Socialists, says in an article by Pat Jordan, 'We must campaign for the release of Ben Bella: this is not merely a humanitarian move or the saving of a great revolutionary; Ben Bella can act as the focal point for a revival of the left in the Algerian Revolution'.

How cynical can you get. I should have thought that humanitarian reasons were enough for a release campaign. While we as Anarchists can join with 'socialists' in support of freedom from colonial powers, we should disassociate ourselves from their support of the 'socialist tendencies' in the emerging Governments, who after all only take over from the colonial powers. The struggle for real independence for the people does not end at this point and they must continue in opposition to these new rulers.

P.T.

Wanted : on the R

IN COMMENTING on the go-slow tactics of the Southern Region railwaymen, and proposals for strike action, politicians, journalists and even Mr. Sidney Greene, the NUR secretary, have brought out the old bogey of imminent 'anarchy'. The railmen have a claim outstanding for a three guinea a week bonus payment, and a committee representing British Rail and the unions have been discussing it for nine months. It happens that in this industrial dispute, pretty well everyone, including the capitalist press and the Orpington Railway Users Association, agrees that the claim is completely justified, and the only reason it isn't paid is bureaucratic muddle. It seems therefore, that what the Southern Region is suffering from is not anarchy but government!

A dispute on a public service offers a particular challenge to socialists, anarchists and communists. To the first group for instance, it should cause some concern that Clause 4, nationalisation and even a Labour Government cannot provide either a satisfactory train service or a work relationship satisfactory to the workers in it, even in an undertaking where there is clearly no need to make a business-like profit. The reactions of the socialists vary from groups like *The Week* (out of power) who believe in workers' control within nationalisation, to the outbursts of Wilson and Gunter (in power) on the wickedness of direct action.

In discussing broad sociological questions in the setting of a specific strike action, I do not wish to blur the issues, since anarchists are unreservedly on the side of the workers and ordinary travellers, and against the managers, union leaders and officials, and would be glad to see more militant action of this kind, strengthened by being more consciously planned and organized. However, it has been a tradition of the movement to link specific struggles with the social movement as a whole, and unlike the *Observer* and similar papers, we are not thinking in terms of a 'national incomes policy', at least not the way the politicians mean.

First of all, there are takings which can be taken out on a human scale. In Egypt they would have been workers' control of the pyramids. The same metropolitan suburbs, the same mitory suburbs, the same particular incomes, the same necessity for communism can only exist in a particular form. Any group of people, or travellers, who say, if society is going to be this we are not going to suffer from it, who justified and if not that line, it could be pressure for the sake to be reversed, and as in the South-East Plan.

Secondly, the dispute offers relief one of the elements against any further differentials between consequently against a system by which the The motormen have a seven-day week for tiring and demanding they take action for are abused by bus would think they treated if they got for five days, and their lunches are more. No doubt include useful and workers and parasitism of mankind, but situation, none of them out their work if it services of the railway reason therefore, in railway workers, particular job, show less than the fattest Orpington? Far

Communist Sanctions

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IS AN ELECTION NECESSARY?

AS IF WE hadn't got enough troubles we are given as a ray of hope from time to time the prospect of an impending election which, we are told, will change the administration and solve all our problems. When the member for Auchtermuchtie goes down with the gripes, hope springs eternal and the marginal seat elections have the newspapers sitting on the edge of theirs. Plots are hatched to overthrow the government (quite democratically of course!). The opposition plays 'cops and robbers', the government plays 'cowboys and Indians'. The deletion of a semi-colon in The

Finance Bill calls forth cries of 'reign' while the retention of a comma in the same bill is a vote of confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

We are not madly keen, to say the least, about the present government but the prospect of an election fills us with alarm and despondency. That bacchanalia of bunkum, that orgy of flatulent oratory, that surge of synthetic pap-feeding, that plethora of palpably unfulfillable promises, that denunciation of despicable rascals by despicable rascals for despicable rascals which during elections never seems to perish from the earth, the air, or the TV screen fills us with dismay. This expense of effort in a waste of shame is perhaps tempting but is it really necessary?

'The best government' we are assured by anarchist theoreticians 'is that which governs least'. If that is the case, the government of Harold Wilson is the best government we have had, or at least, have got. Their policy of masterly inactivity seems preferable to the manic activity which seems to be the only alternative. That such inactivity is not of their choice is a fact which does not resound to their credit. They point to their small majority, their financial dependence on the Americans, their military dependence on Nato, their moral dependence on the Western way of life, their duties to the left-wing of their party, their duties to the right-wing of their party.

But what we had thought to be a King Stork turns out to be a King Log. Those who had hoped for a government which would give a moral lead to the world (like a dog!), would solve its balance of payment problems, would step up production and would harmonize the interests of Capital to make as much money as possible and of Labour to do the same, are disappointed—well they might be!

Sir Alec, by the way, does not seem overkeen to grasp the reigns of power to give a moral lead to the world, etcetera. He has had some, and it is doubtful that he (if he could get the electorate to distinguish and if they wanted to distinguish between his brand A and Mr. Wilson's brand B), could solve the balance of payment problems etcetera.

All he could do would be to change the image, he would lash us with the whip of disinflation, rather than the scorpions of inflation, and change very little only to remain just the same.

So why an election? 'To change the masters is not to become free.'

J.R.

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ANARCHY 53

DISCUSSES

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER SCHOOL?

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First of all, there are some undertakings which cannot be carried out on a human scale. If there had been workers' control in ancient Egypt they would never have built the pyramids. The idea of a massive metropolis surrounded by dormitory suburbs, each inhabited by a particular income level, and the necessity for commuter travelling, can only exist in an unfree society. Any group of people, railwaymen or travellers, who stand out and say, if society is going to be like this we are not going to be the ones who suffer from it, are completely justified and if enough people take that line, it could cause enough pressure for the sociological trend to be reversed, and not accentuated as in the South-East Development Plan.

Secondly, the dispute brings into relief one of the anarchist arguments against any form of economic differentials between workers, and consequently against the wages system by which these are effected. The motormen have to work a seven-day week for £18-£19, at a tiring and demanding job. Yet when they take action for more pay they are abused by business men who would think themselves badly treated if they got twice as much for five days, and grumble because their lunches are not tax free any more. No doubt the travellers include useful and useless people, workers and parasites, like any section of mankind, but in the present situation, none of them could carry out their work if it were not for the services of the railwaymen. What reason therefore, is there that the railway workers, whatever their particular job, should get a penny less than the fattest businessman in Orpington? Far from asking too

much, the workers as usual are demanding far too little.

Thirdly, it is of some interest that the people in Orpington have formed themselves into a Railway Users Association, which shows that they realise the importance of looking after their own interests and not leaving it to their elected representative, even when he is a Liberal. It seems possible that groups of this kind could become sounding boards for groups of reactionaries to attack the unions and workers, or could provide constructive ideas, and function in co-operation with workers' organisations to work out a mutually satisfactory transport service. It is this kind of loose organisation set up for a particular purpose, forming links with other groups operating in related fields, which anarchists envisage as the basis for organisation in society when we have got rid of the state and its authoritarian inefficiency. Are any readers in a position to make the libertarian view heard in groups like these, or can anyone give an account of their activities?

Lastly, a suggestion to ease the inconvenience to the travelling public, about which so many crocodile tears are shed by press and politicians. Obviously this does not apply to people like hospital workers who feel an obligation to be at their jobs, but now that so much is heard of the growing power of the white collar unions, why not a united declaration that everyone in capitalist or government offices is going to leave home at the usual time and get home at the usual time. Strikes are directed against the state and the bosses, not against the people. Let us make sure that they hit the right target.

P.H.

Communist Defence Minister Sanctions Attack on Hanoi

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ONE HAS LONG learned to be wary of the Communists and their fellow-travellers so it came as no surprise when the Committee for Peace in Vietnam talk-in was made an occasion for a lamentable display of American baiting. Badges displayed read 'Hands off Vietnam' in bold letters and in smaller letters above this 'UNITED STATES'. According to Edgar P. Young in the *Daily Worker*, these badges are issued by the British Vietnam Committee.

It has not always been obvious that the Communists were interested in the welfare of the peoples of Vietnam, come to that, not even of the people of Hanoi, who now daily decorate the *Worker's* front page with heroic poses of defiance.

'He who does not remember history is condemned to repeat it'. We may not have forgotten the betrayals of Kronstadt and Mahkno, the terror of Barcelona, and the slaughters of Budapest, but study of the history of Vietnam brings to light other betrayals which should not be forgotten.

On January 22, 1947, with the installation of Vincent Auriol as first President of France's Fourth Republic, the Communists took five seats in the Cabinet of Premier Ramadier. They were: Maurice Thorez (the well-known deserter), Vice Premier; Tillon, Reconstruction; Croizat, Labour and Social Services; Marrane, Public Health and Population (!); and Billoux, National Defence. The Defence Ministry was to co-ordinate the ministries of War, Navy and Air, who were all non-communists.

It is true that this coalition did not last long—the communists resigned on April 30, 1947—but then, French governments weren't lasting long in those days!

But as far as Vietnam was concerned, those were important days. With the

defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the Vietnamese who had been ruled by the Japanese on behalf of Vichy France, wished to be independent. In 1945 Ho Chi Minh had forced the abdication of Bao Dai, the French-Japanese puppet, but the British decided that the British should be responsible for disarming the Japanese south of the 16th parallel and the Chinese for disarming the Japanese in the North. The British Commander in Saigon declared martial law and used Japanese troops to maintain law and order against the Viet-Minh who were in control of the city.

The British released French military forces who had been interned and disarmed by the Japanese, and gave them permission to attack the Viet-Minh. A simultaneous attack was made by Chiang Kai-Shek's forces in the North.

However, these attacks failed and on March 6, 1946, an agreement was reached at Fontainebleau giving the prospect of Vietnamese self-government in five years. In December 1946 the French who had been offering constant provocations attacked several towns and presented the Vietnam Democratic Government with an ultimatum. This was the point at which M. Ramadier took over.

There was no radical change of policy for on February 40 the French relieved Hué and on February 14, with no doubt the approval of the splendid Maurice and under the chairmanship of M. Billoux, French forces attacked Hanoi. They attacked with strong air support and after heavy artillery preparation, attacked in strength against the nationalist forces (Viet-Minh) at Hanoi with the aim of relieving the garrison there (which had been besieged since December 19) and

Continued on page 2

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ADLAI STEVENSON—PARAGON OF DOUBLETHINK

ADLAI STEVENSON belonged to the category of the Great Liberal Spokesman. Like Henry Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt before him, he was of inestimable value in ensnaring for the US government that docile herd of schizophrenic Liberals in which that country so peculiarly abounds. The Liberal Leader, an institution in contemporary politics, is a left cover for a government which while it is engaged in domestic and international atrocities with its strong right hand, isn't particularly interested in what its left hand is doing. It does like to know it is *there*.

Conversely, American Liberals are so hung up on the highly circumscribed activities of their crippled left hand (the genuine, old-fashioned Liberal has been nearly extinct in the US for many

decades) that they entertain a sanguinary and myopic view of those government activities which fail to conform to their more academic and humane attitude towards the functioning of the Republic. A most convenient asset, this Adlai Stevenson.

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ROUND THE GALLERIES

THE YEARS DEAL harshly with the impassioned gesture. That single moment of protest when one defied the gods in a dozen lines of doggerel or with an angry brush become the forgotten ephemera of history to be pawed and rejected by the dusty scholars who codify our tears and laughter within the pigeon holes of their sterile libraries. And what will escape their grey fingers? Nought but the talent of the artist who, while weeping with his age, can transcend the prison of the years and offer each new spawned generation a window on the past and a mirror of the future. So let us honour with our presence those who protest the condition of our time but never let us delude ourselves, that there is ought worth saving, for while we of the banner hungry mob flow through the Royal streets roaring our slogans, the sculptor and the painter protest in their own fashion and while their trivia may swell the chorus of revolt, it should die with the echoes of the passing columns. When we assemble to march again, new banners must be raised to voice the old anger but the ancient rages that twisted the poet's heart will still be hanging dead and emasculated upon the pretty wall of some pretty flat though the curtains will be drawn to hide the faces of the disenchanted marching by.

There, within the basement of Better Books at 94 Charing Cross Road, is the work of *group h*. It sickens and disgusts for there within this grimy cellar is evil personified. Haul it into the light of day and it becomes as nothing. Translate it as has happened so many times into the fashionable whore house galleries of Bond Street and it will only amuse, the tamed revolutionary barking to please the monied mob, but house it in the silence of this dark and empty cellar and these fumbling make-pieces of wire, wadding and clay, become the visible manifestation of the dark side of the soul.

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Even in this darkness is Bruce Lacey's 'War Time Marriage', still copulating in their bridal bath of shit. Nuttall's

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'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays.

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Pacifism and Anarchism

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(An evening of poetry—Tom McGrath, Mary Horton, Dennis Gould and others)

Aug. 8 Arthur Rowe

The Hampstead Road Rent Strike

Aug. 15 Donald Room

The Challenor Case Re-examined

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

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3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.
Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.
2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

bury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

First and third Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

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STEVENSON—PARAGON DUBLETHINK

SON belonged to the Great Liberal Spokesman, Wallace and Mrs. Stevenson, he was of inestimable value for a government engaged in domestic atrocities with its left hand, isn't particularly doing, it is there. American Liberals are so highly circumscribed by the left hand (the Liberal has been the US for many

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able from a Communist renegade.

The only major office he held was as Governor of Illinois. For the rest he was able to contribute (during the several presidencies of Eisenhower, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson) chit-chat, sometimes witty, occasionally banal, increasingly psychotic, and always absurd in its degree of ineffectuality, as his government continued committed to its activities in Hiroshima, Korea, Bay of Pigs, Vietnam. One quote should be sufficient for this last; it comes from his last speech:

'My hope in Vietnam is that resistance there may establish the fact that changes in Asia are not to be precipitated by outside force. This was the point of the Korean war, this is the point of the conflict in Vietnam.'

Alas, poor Stevenson! Brainwashed into Bedlam with the rest of the power politicians and he never really made it. The only appealing thing about him is that coming (as did Kennedy, who com-

fortably fitted into the groove) from generations of politicians and being consequently expected to know the ropes, he had some fatal flaw that prevented him, with the worst intentions in the world and with considerable help from politicians and their machinery, to achieve his coveted pinnacle of power—the presidency. So maybe he had been human after all.

DACHINE RAINER.

The attack on Hanoi

Continued from page 1

restoring French control. Severe opposition was encountered to which the French infantry, supported by tanks and paratroops, had in many cases to fight their way into the city house by house and street by street; that part of the city occupied by the Nationalists was subjected to a number of low-level strafing attacks by French aircraft using 200 lb. bombs. On February 19 it was officially announced that all nationalist resistance had ceased, that the garrison had been relieved, that French troops were in control of the whole city and that the Vietnamese forces had ceased fire after suffering heavy casualties. Large parts of Hanoi had been reduced to ruins in the two months' siege and the final battle. During all this period the Vietnamese were offering (over their radio) to negotiate with France.

On March 5 the French appointed a new High Commissioner. On March 6, M. Ramadier announced that the Vietnam problem was no longer 'military' but 'political' and on April 20 martial law and censorship were lifted throughout Tonkin and North Amman. On May 25 negotiations were opened for a cessation of hostilities.

The Communist ministers were removed by decree from the Ramadier government on April 30, 1947. This was not, as might be judged from their attitude today, on a protest in the name of humanity for the Vietnamese people but on the issue of the Communist support for striking Renault workers.

In all this there is no sign of the pacifism, humanitarianism or liberalism for which the Communists have proved from time to time that they have an overwhelming contempt. Such campaigns that they support as the present 'Peace in Vietnam' they support, as Lenin said of their support of democracy, 'as the rope supports a hanged man'.

JACK ROBINSON.

THE GALLERIES

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balance. This leather booted, balding son of Cincinnati is accepted as the Daddy of the American 'created' Happening, that kosher version of the proletarian Candid Camera and here is Dine's London debut, wall wise. Against a background of crudely drawn subject matters he has hung various object trouvés. For example, with *British Joys* (a picture of *Mary Quant*), he has hung a dress onto the canvas and with *My Tuxedo Makes and Impresses Blunt Edge To the Light*, he has (you guessed!) hung a coat and trousers onto the canvas while at the same time extending the area of the canvas, space wise, into the gallery by placing a pair of shoes upon the floor before the canvas and in its harmless fashion it amuses.

Yet in London there is an exhibition of paintings by those who seek neither public applause nor private gain, for at the Quantas Art Gallery at 57 Piccadilly, W.1, the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children is holding its 1965 International Exhibition. Here is work by those who are mentally handicapped and in the main it is what one would expect. It is the imitative and garish style of painting that one encounters in so many exhibitions of work by extremely young and talented children but flowering among these works are those paintings that can stand comparison with the work of any competent trained adult. Jargen K., chronological age 16, mental age 9, offers a strongly drawn Klee type pen sketch, Bobbie van de B. (c.a. 12, m.a. 5) has created a three dimensional abstract of loose twine that would not be out of place within any small Bond Street gallery. Ian M. (c.a. 12, i.q. 40), has produced a geometrical abstract that maintains its colour balance throughout. Derek H. (c.a. 17, m.a. 5) must surely win the palm, for his expressionist abstraction of liting wisps of passive colours must surely live on when these walls have, of necessity, become empty. Somewhere in this gallery there is a moral or a lesson or a thesis, yet why disturb this quiet beauty that these quiet people have produced for their happiness and pleasure?

PRESS FUND

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Expenses: 26 weeks at £70:
2 weeks at £80: £1980
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1724

DEFICIT £256

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3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

First and third Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence: Joe Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.

For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Weaste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m. FREEDOM selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION GROUP.

Every Wednesday at Jack Geraghty's, 8 York Road, Manchester, 21.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.

Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Next meeting August-1 (Sunday) 5 p.m.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SURREY ANARCHISTS

are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive, Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

PROPOSED GROUPS

WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested contact Peter J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.

Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX.

Close to W. Suffolk. S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding).

Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham).

Proposed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syndicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards, 'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

NEW ZEALAND.

Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

Windy, fly-blown yet immaculate

A GAIN AND AGAIN you feast your readers on a banquet of lush-sounding generalities which, whilst doubtless as admirable as any other brand of moral-cum-political platitudinising, leaves us all equally up in the air and equally without a focal point for action.

Not once do you attempt to suggest how masses of people trapped in the destructive and self-defeating values of our decaying social organisations can escape from them. Not once do you attempt to suggest in any detail the kind of social order that can be controlled by all the people, and half the time you seem to be trying to get by with an evasive assumption that if we all become pals and brothers together, the problems of social structure and social organisation will somehow solve themselves, if they need to be solved at all!

I am sorry to sound uncharitable but I think whilst you continue with this kind of approach anarchism will continue to be a quaint and very minute minority cause until the end of time.

In a libertarian society there will doubtless continue to be members who are sick in body or mind and who will want treatment, often highly skilled and specialist. Whether you welcome this or not, the fact is that such facilities and service will require organisation, and organisation of any size requires a bureaucracy to run it. The same is true of railways, telephones, public utilities, and the vast, complex range of activities in the mass-production market place. How do we stop these bureaucracies becoming bureaucratic?

I write this after reading your editorial of July 10, 'Socialism Must be a Movement of the People'. That sounds fine, even if the Labour Party and the Communist Party have been parroting it for about half a century. But what does it mean? You catigate both these parties for failing to see the inherent historical tendencies in any mass party towards oligarchy and worse, without acknowledging any obligation of your own to spell out your own forms of organisation so that they will avoid this fate.

For example, it seems to me at any rate, that the question of scale and size is absolutely crucial to any discussion of popular control of any form of organisation. Yet never once do you see the necessity of making even a passing reference to the matter.

We can accept that a workshop of 10 or 20 men can be a human dominated unit of production, if only because the workers are in a personal relationship to each other and will normally show a corresponding concern for each other's well-being (I am assuming this concern will not be frustrated, as it so often is today, by market forces and other pressures).

Equally, we may see that a workshop of 1,000 or 20,000 workers will not be a human-dominated unit, but that it will be (as indeed it is) dominated by factors of technology and capital ownership or manipulation and consideration of state power and the like. We may make all the assumption we like about abolishing governments, abolishing private capital, and abolishing all the basic aspects of ordinary life, but

scarcely reached the stage of clearly formulating them and scarcely anyone is doing any research on them.

If you could devote some editorials to this kind of theme it is possible we might be able to formulate an ideology presenting a genuine challenge to the powers and dangers confronting us, for in ultimate terms the real corridors of power are still in the human mind.

But windy editorials, immaculate principles, flyblown slogans and a pervasive air that all outstanding problems can be comfortably settled over a pint of bitter at the 'Lamb and Flag' is unlikely to make a dent anywhere.

London, SW5

JOHN PAPWORTH.

No hangovers please!

Dear Editors,

Jörg Christian Fauser takes me to task for not stating in my article on Marxism that living standards have risen in lands where Communist governments have come to power. I don't deny it but, then, living standards are higher still in, say, America and West Germany. Should I then write favourably of the social systems of those countries? And since when have anarchists measured societies by their standards of living and not by the degree of liberty and happiness of the people, which depend to only a slight extent on the physical standard of living? I write these words, not as a prosperous bourgeois anarchist as J.C.F. thinks, but from a tiny village where I live at a standard far, far below the average of West Germany.

I also agree with him that there is a lot of idealism and courage in the Communist movement. (I said so in my article.) But my point was that this idealism and courage has been cynically squandered by the Communist bosses to such an extent that words like 'equality' are now bad jokes.

The nearest I have been to a Communist land was peering at China over the border from Macao. I saw only hills which looked much the same as hills elsewhere. But since when has it been essential to know a thing at first hand in order to write about it? Does each geographer have to know intimately every corner of the world before writing his geography book? And are 'trust-worthy' history books impossible until time machines are invented (touch wood they never will be). And how can J.C.F. write about the Spanish war unless he was there? And has he an intimate knowledge of Bulgaria? If not why should he believe the Bulgarian Communist? Obviously J.C.F. has never realised that it is often possible to be more objective about a thing by viewing it in detachment from afar.

However, the main reason I can't get first hand information about Communist countries is that the people who run them WON'T LET ME. Or does J.C.F. seriously believe that the bosses of Russia, China, East Germany, etc., are going to permit me, or anyone else, to wander at will in those lands, putting whatever questions I like to who I like? If I had so much as put a toe over that Red China border either their guards would have seized me or else the Portuguese Colonial Police would have (birds of a feather).

I agree that the teachings of Marx serve a modern society better than the teachings of Thoreau. But this is because

LETTERS

A Misunderstanding

Gentlemen,

I am very grateful to Dachine Rainer for her appreciative notice of 'Left Handed Liberty' but I am a little troubled that she has so misinterpreted the meaning of the last act. Under no circumstances did I intend this to suggest that 'all's right with the world after all' and I am at a loss to know how this misunderstanding has occurred. From critics writing in the more conventional journals such comment is not surprising because they will not understand an anarchist point of view anyway: but I had hoped for a more sympathetic analysis from your contributor. The key speech in the scene in question is where the King says to his mistress (after she has told him that his attitude to his royal authority has always been inconsistent)—

'Exactly so. Inconsistent, irregular, unreasonable, and this is our uniqueness. Not in our capacity for damnation or salvation nor yet in our capacity for logical rationality — though both of them are glorious: and both of them, I fear, have distorted our nature. Indeed, I am inclined to think that not only are you unsuited to be a married woman and I to be a king, but that none of us, ever, are suited to be either.'

He then goes on to say that so far from the Great Charter providing the rights and liberties that have been claimed for it, it has done no more than open a hole in the walls of the power structure by means of two particularly generalized clauses, which are susceptible to a very wide interpretation indeed (and which have in fact helped considerably in the historical development of libertarian ideas). These clauses seem to have got into the charter almost by accident. The barons and clergy who framed them did not intend them to be used in this way—they had a specific feudal application which has long since lapsed—a reactionary application designed to keep inherited privilege for the classes who already

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Equally, we may see that a workshop of 1,000 or 20,000 workers will not be a human-dominated unit, but that it will be (as indeed it is) dominated by factors of technology and capital ownership or manipulation and consideration of state power and the like. We may make all the assumption we like about abolishing governments, abolishing private capital, and abolishing all the baser aspects of ordinary human frailty, but we are still left with this question of size and the conflict in large units of production between efficiency in technological terms and efficiency as measured in terms of popular control.

Quite clearly at some stage in the process of growth the latter becomes sacrificed to the former. But what precisely is that stage? What in fact, in terms of responsive popular control, is the optimum size of a unit of production? Or for that matter of a community? We don't know, and we don't know the answers to a whole range of similar questions because we have

anarchist movement. (I said so in my article.) But my point was that this idealism and courage has been cynically squandered by the Communist bosses to such an extent that words like 'equality' are now bad jokes.

The nearest I have been to a Communist land was peering at China over the border from Macao. I saw only hills which looked much the same as hills elsewhere. But since when has it been essential to know a thing at first hand in order to write about it? Does each geographer have to know intimately every corner of the world before writing his geography book? And are 'trustworthy' history books impossible until time machines are invented (touch wood they never will be). And how can J.C.F. write about the Spanish war unless he was there? And has he an intimate knowledge of Bulgaria? If not why should he believe the Bulgarian Communist? Obviously J.C.F. has never realised that it is often possible to be more objective about a thing by viewing it in detachment from afar.

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I agree that the teachings of Marx serve a modern society better than the teachings of Thoreau. But this is because modern society is so bloody awful. Thoreau didn't address his teachings to the whole of society but to thoughtful individuals (dirty word) within it.

Finally, having slated me and anarchist writers in general, J.C.F. writes, 'Has anarchist propaganda nothing better to offer than remote speculation etc., etc., etc.' Well, as J.C.F. has a ready pen (there are more letters in FREEDOM by him than by anyone else) why doesn't he write this better propaganda? But, please, let it be really anarchist and not riddled with hangovers from Marx, Lenin, the YCL or the rest of the ghastly bunch. Merioneth

JEFF ROBINSON.

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A JOINT UNITED STATES-CANADIAN study group has recommended that Canada should tone down all public criticism of US foreign policies, except where Canadian interests are concerned. It is understood that this arises from criticism by Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Premier, of US bombings in Vietnam. Mrs. Verdun Perl, former Liberal Parliamentary candidate returned from Hanoi on a fact-finding mission on behalf of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam, she said, according to the *Daily Worker* reporter: 'If you go out to North Vietnam as a peacemaker, you can't take sides, can you?' She is, continues the *Worker* reporter 'a vice-chairman of the Committee for Medical Aid for Vietnam and took with her a box of surgical instruments for the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam'. Asked whether she thought 'aiding the guerillas was peaceful' Mrs. Perl replied, 'The people of North and South Vietnam are one people. If you were attacked and your friends and relations in Lancashire came to your aid, you would be awfully glad, wouldn't you?' . . .

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON, speaking in BBC TV *Panorama* on Monday said that 'I do not share any misgivings about the direction of our (US) policy.' It had been thought by many of his admirers and supporters that he would speak out against President Johnson's policy. Mr. Stevenson said a line had to be drawn between the Communist and non-Communist systems and in Asia the line was in Vietnam. 'You meet these problems where they arise,' he said, 'and not to do so may lead to greater evils.' He

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'Exactly so. Inconsistent, irregular, unreasonable, and this is our uniqueness. Not in our capacity for damnation or salvation nor yet in our capacity for logical rationality — though both of them are glorious: and both of them, I fear, have distorted our nature. Indeed, I am inclined to think that not only are you unsuited to be a married woman and I to be a king, but that none of us, ever, are suited to be either.'

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possessed it.

I have taken the liberty with history of suggesting in the play that John foresaw this and allowed the clauses to be written loosely in order to strike at the foundations of traditional authority. This is perhaps unhistorical but the fact is that John was a very odd character, quite out of his time—he was a sort of anarchist wearing a crown. He does not seem to have believed in anything that was regarded as sacred by the establishment of his age, clerical or lay; and the contradiction between his personal free-thinking and the greed for power and money which derived from his position is probably the reason why he got such a bad press from medieval chroniclers (who were nearly all conservative monks). He was a sympathetic scoundrel. A scoundrel because he enjoyed being king and was determined not to relinquish it: and sympathetic because he really knew better all the time.

If this did not appear in the production I can only imagine it was because the last minute pressures of rehearsals and rewrites and stage-management panics clouded my judgement (as it often does, even in the best regulated theatres) so that I could no longer see the wood for the trees and allowed the emphasis of the scene to be wrongly placed.

But the very end of the play, when the charter is passed on by the Earl Marshal to the King's young son meant no more than that the document was not (as might have happened) forgotten altogether. To this extent it was a significant event. Radical theatre is not created by telling lies: and to pretend that nobody has ever had any benefit from Magna Carta would have been a lie and an ignorant one at that. It is not a subject that lends itself to straight debunking, however much some of us enjoy debunking history.

But, you know, I wonder if Dachine Rainer's misunderstanding of the play is entirely my fault? She seems to have thought that Timothy Bateson 'had a great time ogling the king's wife'. The character played by Mr. Bateson has a wife of his own with whom the king has been to bed. The king's wife appears only in one scene and it is a scene from which Mr. Bateson is absent. Somebody

hasn't been watching very closely.

Also, while I am biting the hand that feeds me—why knock the Aldwych in order to praise the Mermaid? Patrick Wymark made his pre-TV reputation at the Aldwych and the quality of his acting must be due in no small degree to the experience he had there. I will agree that the Mermaid is a much pleasanter theatre to visit—but this is probably more an architectural than an artistic circumstance. A well-designed open stage and roomy bars are much more conducive to enjoyment than a proscenium stage with bad sight lines and a cramped series of dark foyers. Neither Peter Hall nor Bernard Miles have anything like enough money, but Bernard Miles had an empty site to start with. Peter Hall had to take the building he could get. His new theatre in the Barbican, when it gets built, will have owed a lot to the Mermaid design: so don't let's get too narky too soon.

This is a very long letter: but I wouldn't have written it if I hadn't been grateful for a basically very kind notice of the play.

Kirbymooreaside

JOHN ARDEN.

London to Porton March

Dear Friends,

To supplement your report on Porton in the current issue of FREEDOM I should like to inform your readers that there is to be a march from London to Porton—leaving London (probably Marble Arch, but it may be decided to march through a larger part of central London), on Saturday, September 4 and arriving at Porton on the morning of Saturday, September 11 (the day of the main action). The route will be Hounslow, Maidenhead, Reading, Newbury, Andover and Porton.

If anybody has accommodation they can offer or if anybody would like to take part in all or part of the march or if local groups would like to help organise activity in the evening in their area we should like to hear from them.

London Committee of 100

13 Goodwin Street,

London, N4

DOUGLAS KEPPEL.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

'Peace-makers Shouldn't Take Sides'—Daily Worker

IT APPEARS that Mars is reddish in colour, is probably uninhabited and that the atmosphere is about one-fiftieth as dense as that on earth and about eight miles deep. On the other hand Vietnam's jungles are still green, stained with red, and are becoming inhabited with 1,000 more US combat troops, but the atmosphere for peace is still as dense as ever. Mr. Davies returned without an olive branch, only clutching at a leaf, Mr. Averill Harriman is reported to be exploring the Moscow undergrowth and Mr. Nkrumah has been invited to Hanoi. Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, said that he did not think that the stumbling block to the Commonwealth Peace Mission was Hanoi. He thought it was London. He said 'The next step perhaps might be that Mr. Wilson should send an emissary to London to speak to

said that during his few days here (in London) he would be seeing officials and friends. The officials, he said, seemed to be less 'confused' about Vietnam than members of the public. On Wednesday afternoon Mr. Adlai Stevenson recorded an interview for the BBC in which he said that the point of the conflict in Vietnam was to establish the fact that changes in Asia were not to be precipitated by outside force. 'This was the point of the Korean war, this is the point of the conflict in Vietnam,' he said. 'I believe that Asia will be more stable in future if the outcome is the same in both. That is to say, a negotiated line beyond which one great power will not attempt to enforce its interests on another, and a negotiated peace, a just and honourable peace which leaves the future of the people of South Vietnam to be decided by them, and not by

in which it was held that 'Congress could not have intended that its statutes were to be enforced by tempting innocent persons into violations. Such a gross abuse of authority for detecting and punishing crime deserves the severest condemnations.' In another case the Supreme Court said, 'The power of Government is abused and directed to an end for which it was not constituted when employed to promote rather than detect crime and to bring about the downfall of those who, left to themselves, might well have obeyed the law.' In the Statue of Liberty case Federal Judge William B. Herlands said: 'A line must be drawn between the entrapment of the unwary innocent and the trap for the unwary criminal. Criminal activity is such that sometimes stealth and strategy are necessary methods of law enforcement. If the prosecution has satisfied you that the

rights and liberties that have been claimed for it, it has done no more than open a hole in the walls of the power structure by means of two particularly generalized clauses, which are susceptible to a very wide interpretation indeed (and which have in fact helped considerably in the historical development of libertarian ideas). These clauses seem to have got into the charter almost by accident. The barons and clergy who framed them did not intend them to be used in this way—they had a specific feudal application which has long since lapsed—a reactionary application designed to keep inherited privilege for the classes who already

been to a Communist China over the hills. I saw only hills the same as hills when has it been thing at first hand in it? Does each know intimately world before writing? And are 'trusts' impossible until invented (touch wood). And how can the Spanish war And has he an Bulgaria? If not believe the Bulgarian J.C.F. has never possibly to be a thing by viewing in afar.

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ed me and anarchist J.C.F. writes, 'Has a nothing better to eculation etc., etc., F. has a ready pen ers in FREEDOM by e else) why doesn't propaganda? But, ly anarchist and not rs from Marx, Lenin, of the ghastly bunch. JEFF ROBINSON.

ATURE

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Press

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has ever had any benefit from Magna Carta would have been a lie and an ignorant one at that. It is not a subject that lends itself to straight debunking, however much some of us enjoy debunking history.

But, you know, I wonder if Dachine Rainer's misunderstanding of the play is entirely my fault? She seems to have thought that Timothy Bateson 'had a great time ogling the king's wife'. The character played by Mr. Bateson has a wife of his own with whom the king has been to bed. The king's wife appears only in one scene and it is a scene from which Mr. Bateson is absent. Somebody

London Committee of 100
13 Goodwin Street,
London, N4

DOUGLAS KEPPEL.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

'Peace-makers Shouldn't Take Sides'—Daily Worker

IT APPEARS that Mats is reddish in colour, is probably uninhabited and that the atmosphere is about one-fiftieth as dense as that on earth and about eight miles deep. On the other hand Vietnam's jungles are still green, stained with red, and are becoming inhabited with 1,000 more US combat troops, but the atmosphere for peace is still as dense as ever. Mr. Davies returned without an olive branch, only clutching at a leaf, Mr. Averill Harriman is reported to be exploring the Moscow undergrowth and Mr. Nkrumah has been invited to Hanoi. Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, said that he did not think that the stumbling block to the Commonwealth Peace Mission was Hanoi. He thought it was London. He said 'The next step perhaps might be that Mr. Wilson should send an emissary to London to speak to London about the aims and purpose of the mission.' . . .

A JOINT UNITED STATES-CANADIAN study group has recommended that Canada should tone down all public criticism of US foreign policies, except where Canadian interests are concerned. It is understood that this arises from criticism by Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Premier, of US bombings in Vietnam. Mrs. Verdun Perl, former Liberal Parliamentary candidate returned from Hanoi on a fact-finding mission on behalf of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam, she said, according to the *Daily Worker* reporter: 'If you go out to North Vietnam as a peacemaker, you can't take sides, can you?' She is, continues the *Worker* reporter 'a vice-chairman of the Committee for Medical Aid for Vietnam and took with her a box of surgical instruments for the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam'. Asked whether she thought 'aiding the guerillas was peaceful' Mrs. Perl replied, 'The people of North and South Vietnam are one people. If you were attacked and your friends and relations in Lancashire came to your aid, you would be awfully glad, wouldn't you?' . . .

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON, speaking in BBC TV *Panorama* on Monday said that 'I do not share any misgivings about the direction of our (US) policy.' It had been thought by many of his admirers and supporters that he would speak out against President Johnson's policy. Mr. Stevenson said a line had to be drawn between the Communist and non-Communist systems and in Asia the line was in Vietnam. 'You meet these problems where they arise,' he said, 'and not to do so may lead to greater evils.' He

said that during his few days here (in London) he would be seeing officials and friends. The officials, he said, seemed to be less 'confused' about Vietnam than members of the public. On Wednesday afternoon Mr. Adlai Stevenson recorded an interview for the BBC in which he said that the point of the conflict in Vietnam was to establish the fact that changes in Asia were not to be precipitated by outside force. 'This was the point of the Korean war, this is the point of the conflict in Vietnam,' he said. 'I believe that Asia will be more stable in future if the outcome is the same in both. That is to say, a negotiated line beyond which one great power will not attempt to enforce its interests on another, and a negotiated peace, a just and honourable peace which leaves the future of the people of South Vietnam to be decided by them, and not by force.' Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, the South Vietnamese Premier, asked Mr. McNamara, the United States Secretary of Defence, for enough US infantrymen to defeat the Vietcong, and not just enough to contain its offensive. It is said that the US contemplates calling up reserves. On Wednesday evening Mr. Adlai Stevenson dropped dead in Grosvenor Square. . . .

ACCORDING TO *Newsweek* at the White House Festival of Arts Dwight McDonald who had originally intended to boycott the festival with Robert Lowell came along and circulated 'an anti-Administration petition'. A Presidential adviser said his conduct was 'the height of rudeness'. Mr. Charlton Heston, who plays Biblical roles said 'Why should I sign this lousy petition? He belts me in his movie reviews.' According to *Time* Robert Lowell was presented with a Litt.D. from Williams College for his 'uncompromising thoughts'. Henry Robinson Luce (Editorial Chairman of Time Inc.) was presented with the LL.D. with the citation 'The history of our century could not be written without recognizing the impact upon journalism and opinion of publications you have fathered, which now reach more than fifty million readers on this earth—with every prospect of future editions for other planets to come.' Mr. Allen Dulles, former director of Central Intelligence Agency, was given a LL.D. for services unspecified or deliberately kept secret. . . .

THREE MEN were tried in a conspiracy to blow up the Statue of Liberty. Two of them claimed that the idea came from a man who was an undercover detective who worked out the details. A previous case before the Supreme Court was cited

Arch, but it may be decided to march through a larger part of central London), on Saturday, September 4 and arriving at Porton on the morning of Saturday, September 11 (the day of the main action). The route will be Hounslow, Maidenhead, Reading, Newbury, Andover and Porton.

If anybody has accommodation they can offer or if anybody would like to take part in all or part of the march or if local groups would like to help organise activity in the evening in their area we should like to hear from them.

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in which it was held that 'Congress could not have intended that its statutes were to be enforced by tempting innocent persons into violations. Such a gross abuse of authority for detecting and punishing crime deserves the severest condemnations.' In another case the Supreme Court said, 'The power of Government is abused and directed to an end for which it was not constituted when employed to promote rather than detect crime and to bring about the downfall of those who, left to themselves, might well have obeyed the law.' In the Statue of Liberty case Federal Judge William B. Herlands said: 'A line must be drawn between the entrapment of the unwary innocent and the trap for the unwary criminal. Criminal activity is such that sometimes stealth and strategy are necessary methods of law enforcement. If the prosecution has satisfied you that the defendants were awaiting a favourable opportunity to commit the offences, you may find that (Detective) Wood has not seduced innocent persons but has only provided the means for the defendants to realize their own existing purposes.' The jury brought in a verdict of 'guilty'. The defendants were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. . . .

MR. HAROLD WILSON announced that the British government is to appoint a 'super-salesman' for arms. The French Atomic Energy Commission announced that France has started manufacturing a new and improved atomic bomb. The bomb, which has a nuclear explosive device considerably superior to its predecessor, is destined for France's nuclear strike force of Mirage IV supersonic bombers. . . .

JULY 16TH WAS the twentieth anniversary of the first atomic explosion in history. An NBC documentary records Robert Oppenheimer, who was in charge of the operations at Los Alamos, as saying 'We knew the world would not be the same (after the explosion). Few people laughed, few people cried. Most people were silent. I remember the line from the Hindu scripture, the *Baghavat Gita*: Vishnu is trying to persuade the Prince that he should do his duty and to impress him takes on his multi-armed form and says, "Now I am become death, destroyer of worlds." I suppose we all thought that, one way or the other.' Kenneth Bainbridge who was in charge of the Trinity test and the complex system of switches, continued, 'And then the feeling, I think, which was growing in everyone at that time when I shook hands with Oppenheimer I said "Now we are all sons of bitches".'

JOHN QUINCY.

Low paid workers fight back

MUNICIPAL BUS EMPLOYERS

have issued a warning to corporations expressing concern about the payment of wages above the nationally negotiated rate in an attempt to attract labour. The Federation of Municipal Passenger Transport Employers met in London on July 15. They passed a motion deploring bonus scheme or deviations which make the national rates of pay and conditions virtually non-existent. The difficulty they face is an acute labour shortage in towns like Leeds, Bolton and Nottingham where, if one concedes an increase, it starts things moving in other towns.

Leeds busmen are prepared to fight for a bonus payment and within a short space of time could be

joined by many. For too long have busmen in general, and provincial busmen in particular, have had to be satisfied with peanuts. The times are over when a job as a local busman can be called well paid and secure. Now is the time to make their stand, all transport workers together or, if that is too utopian, at least all busmen together.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR USE SCAB LABOUR

ASSET, in support of a pay claim, has withdrawn its labour from all establishments throughout the country where International Computers and Tabulators computers are maintained. ASSET claim that one of the four men on strike at the Ministry has since returned. A breakdown in talks called to end the wages dispute for field engineers employed by IC & T has led to an extension of the dispute. Clive Jenkins, general secretary of ASSET, stated that some sections of this management are bitterly anti-trade union. The wage demand is for a 20% pay increase and an end to the two kinds of overtime under which they only get paid for extra hours put in on behalf of customers. The engineers claim they get no pay for overtime worked for the management. IC & T have offered 13½% plus another 4% at the management's discretion. Obviously, the 4% is for the blue-eyed boys and the boot-lickers. No union worth its salt could stand for that chicanery.

STAY SICK OR PAY

Doctors believe they are entitled to more pay. I don't doubt that they are, a GP's job is a 24-hour effort. But surely the answer to the problem is not to make the patients pay but the parasites on the pharmaceutical side. These monkeys make a bomb out of patent medicines and if you look very closely

many are duplicated. They compete against each other in advertising. This is where the money is to be found for the GPs who do the graft, not out of the pockets of the patients.

NUMBER PLEASE!

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One can truthfully say that a post office telephonist's job (men and women) is a nerve racking affair, where nerves are stretched to breaking point. But as usual, in Government departments, they expect the job to be done for nothing. If the three-year agreement was not tied up with the cost of living, we can rest assured that any increase the telephonists obtained would be well and truly swallowed up by the rising cost of living.

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Long range agreements in this day and age prove to be suicidal. You receive an increase in one week, and the next week it is swallowed up. The escape clause in these agreements which allows workers to come back for a wage increase before the agreement expires is so small that it means a fight all the way.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Contact Column

Back to the Soil? Would anyone like a fortnight (August 14-28) on a farm, in return for a few hours help in the house? Anne Albon, The Stable, Glynleigh Farm, Pevensey, Sussex.

Hitch-Hiking. Clare Albon wants hitchhiking companion (whom she knows) to go to French camp. Wants to start on July 29 or 30. Contact at The Stable, Glynleigh Farm, Pevensey, Sussex.

New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

Canadian Camp. Libertarian Summer Camp to be held on the week-end of August 20 at Doug Worthington's, Church Road, Sooke BC, Canada. Informal discussion groups, etc. Activities to be decided on by the participants.

French Camp Travel. Anyone going to Anarchist Summer Camp, France in August with a spare seat? Share expenses. Frances Edwards, c/o Marlow, Manor Farm, Woodeaton, Oxon.

Accommodation Wanted. Young man, ex-freedom-school pupil would like bedsitter with cooking facilities or full board, or share flat with one or two others, South London area, before end of July. Please phone: STReatham 6085.

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JULY 24 1965

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Vietnam Posters. 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

Help Needed. To sell anarchist literature outside Bromley library. From 11.30 a.m. every Saturday morning.

Room Wanted—London. Shift worker would like room with mod. cons. South, or West Kensington. Box 11.

Fifteen-Year-Old Comrade from Paris wants to stay with family (including someone of similar age) for the month of August. Write Box 12.

Leicester Accommodation. Unfurnished cheap weather-proof accommodation wanted by mature (?) student, wife and two children. Any proposals (sharing, etc.) considered. Mike Radford, 90 Westfield, Harlow, Essex.

L.A.G. Two. Barn / Studio / Basement wanted to house meeting place, library, etc. for LAG II. Suggestions, ideas, details and details of rent required to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

London Accommodation. Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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BILL CHRISTOPHER.

... and we will still start at 8 ...

I WROTE TWO weeks ago about the dispute over starting times on the Electricity Board. The Board gave us one time, and the shop stewards another. We and all the other areas involved have been sticking to the times set by our representatives (that is an 8 a.m. start instead of 8.30 a.m.) but since then some changes have occurred.

When I went to the Union branch meeting on Monday, July 12, I found exactly 11 people there. The fact that a branch meeting has only 11 people there when there is a dispute on, shows that something is very, very wrong with the Electrical Trades Union. We were informed there that the Board's representatives had refused to discuss the issue (though a special meeting had been called with this as the only item on the agenda) with our representatives who had walked out. Arguments started as to whether they should have walked out or registered a 'failed to agree', but it was all rather pointless since there were six hundred members in that particular branch and all the shop stewards weren't there, leave alone the men themselves.

On Thursday, 15, however, came the news that there was to be a meeting at 5.30 p.m. The meeting opened and our steward told us he had had instructions from the area official that we should start work at 8.30 a.m. as the Board ordered, pending negotiations. The stand against the Board seems to be collapsing

throughout the area. Other depots had decided to obey the union (under protest), though at one depot the men were protesting by not paying union dues, as well as starting at 8. We heard also (off the cuff) that any negotiations would end with the same result as last time. So what is the point of changing our minds, awaiting negotiations if we already know that we will not be listened to?

A CHANGE OF HEART

Three votes were taken at a quite well attended meeting at work on Thursday evening (the correct place for union business). At the first, only five voted to disobey union and management; this five however managed to talk the others round and it was decided that we will still start at eight and finish at five. In Birmingham there are people on strike over this issue. It is really over whether we have our time off when we want it or when they want to give it to us. We want the time off at night when we can use it and not in the morning. Added to that, on our job in particular we would certainly get better results as regards productivity by starting at eight. In fact it's really a struggle over job control. It's also becoming a struggle over who controls the union; the men in it, or the executive. The thing that seemed to get everyone's back up was that we were being told to do things by management and union. As it was pointed out by one who shall be nameless; we pay the executive, we elect them to do our bidding, not to give us orders. It seems that the whole idea of unionism has been turned upside down and needed turning back again. Apparently in the ETU (since the event of the new anti-totalitarian leadership) the executive gives orders to the area official who gives them to the shop steward (whether he likes it or not) who is supposed to give

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circulation in 1965!**

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BILL CHRISTOPHER.

FREEDOM

For Workers' Control

JULY 24 1965 Vol. 26 No. 23

Propagating Anarchism

THERE seems to be a certain amount of reaction against the working class by some comrades and some criticism, some of which has been published, has been directed against the back page of **FREEDOM**. Most of this criticism seems to come from those who have found themselves a nice little niche, and good luck to them, and have only themselves to support. They may be all right, but they often forget that there are others who have wives and children to support and to whom the 'scramble' for higher wages means a great deal. To some, this may appear undignified, but to the man who has to pay a high rent or has to meet mortgage repayments on his house, a pay rise can make all the difference.

I am afraid that some comrades live in an airy-fairy world where their economic problems are easily solved. It is easy to condemn overtime working, but what about the chap who has been kicking around in a furnished flat for years, waiting for his turn to come up on the council housing list. Is he to be sneered at when he decides to take out a mortgage to get a decent home for his wife and kids? He will probably have to work overtime to pay for it all, but good luck to him for it is worth it.

A MARXIST HANGOVER

Why is so much propaganda angled at the workers? Let's face it, they grow the food, produce the goods and man the transport system. They form a high proportion of the population and when a section of them refuse to carry on

doing their job, we soon know about it. Perhaps our critics do not come up against authority very often, but the average worker does and on the whole, he does not like it very much. He is not in outright rebellion against this authority as we all know and it is a mistake to think that just because he is a wage earner, he should be a revolutionary. This idea might stem from Marx, but I assure you that the two main contributors to the back page do not suffer from this illusion. In fact those who criticise are generally those who use the workers as a scapegoat for the fact that there are not any revolutions and blame them for this. In so doing, they are not considering the worker as an individual, but as part of a mass. Here again is a Marxist hangover.

NOT ALWAYS AT WORK

As was reported in **FREEDOM** the other week, most of the industrial disputes that occurred during last year were not over a question of wages, but were concerned with job control. Now this, it seems to me, is an important point, for it is the control of our own lives which is the aim of each one of us and if workers can gain some advance in this direction, then it is a good thing.

But of course it does not end here. The worker does not spend all his life at work, although one would think so from some 'left' publications. He comes up against the same capitalist motives in the question of housing, getting a place for his kids to play on the estate and as at work, an organisation is built up to defend his interests at home.

As wage earners, workers suffer the indignities and insecurities as much as anyone else, but those who perform the essential jobs that keep our society going are often subjected to further pressures. Their employers are only interested in them insofar as they can get more from them. Every worker knows this, or should do, but the majority do not realise that those who employ him play an essential part in production.

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up with the list of living, we can
rest assured that any increase the
telephonists obtained would be well
and truly swallowed up by the rising
cost of living.

CLERICAL WORKERS TO DOWN PENS

IT IS INTERESTING and heartening
to note that clerical workers have
had a gutfull at being at the bottom of
the wage scale. The National Association
of Clerical and Supervisory Staffs
have decided to call a one-day strike
over a pay dispute. They are calling
for support from other white collar
unions with members employed by local
authorities. The Association is part of
the T & GWU. Their decision follows
a rejection by the management side of
the Joint Council for an amendment of
the present three-year pay agreement to
permit an increase in pay.

Long range agreements in this day and
age prove to be suicidal. You receive
an increase in one week, and the next
week it is swallowed up. The escape
clause in these agreements which allows
workers to come back for a wage in-
crease before the agreement expires is
so small that it means a fight all the way.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

themselves a nice little niche, and good
luck to them, and have only themselves
to support. They may be all right, but
they often forget that there are others
who have wives and children to support
and to whom the 'scramble' for higher
wages means a great deal. To some,
this may appear undignified, but to the
man who has to pay a high rent or has
to meet mortgage repayments on his
house, a pay rise can make all the
difference.

I am afraid that some comrades live
in an airy-fairy world where their eco-
nomic problems are easily solved. It is
easy to condemn overtime working, but
what about the chap who has been kicking
around in a furnished flat for years,
waiting for his turn to come up on the
council housing list. Is he to be sneered
at when he decides to take out a mortgage
to get a decent home for his wife and
kids? He will probably have to work
overtime to pay for it all, but good luck
to him for it is worth it.

A MARXIST HANGOVER

Why is so much propaganda angled
at the workers? Let's face it, they grow
the food, produce the goods and man
the transport system. They form a high
proportion of the population and when
a section of them refuse to carry on

a wage earner, he should be a revolution-
ary. This idea might stem from Marx,
but I assure you that the two main con-
tributors to the back page do not suffer
from this illusion. In fact those who
criticise are generally those who use the
workers as a scapegoat for the fact
that there are not any revolutions and
blame them for this. In so doing, they
are not considering the worker as an
individual, but as part of a mass. Here
again is a Marxist hangover.

NOT ALWAYS AT WORK

As was reported in FREEDOM the other
week, most of the industrial disputes that
occurred during last year were not over
a question of wages, but were concerned
with job control. Now this, it seems to
me, is an important point, for it is the
control of our own lives which is the aim
of each one of us and if workers can
gain some advance in this direction, then
it is a good thing.

But of course it does not end here.
The worker does not spend all his life
at work, although one would think so
from some 'left' publications. He comes
up against the same capitalist motives in
the question of housing, getting a place
for his kids to play on the estate and
as at work, an organisations is built up
to defend his interests at home.

As wage earners, workers suffer the
indignities and insecurities as much as
anyone else, but those who perform the
essential jobs that keep our society going
are often subjected to further pressures.
Their employers are only interested in
them insofar as they can get more from
them. Every worker knows this, or
should do, but the majority do not realise
that those who employ him play an
inessential part in production.

I feel that any movement that propa-
gates revolution must also prepare for
the day following that event, for as this
process is taking place, society must still
be able to carry on. We still have to
eat, we still need fuel, and we still need
transportation for these. This is why we
should address ourselves to workers. By
helpful comments and taking part as
individuals involved in their present day
struggles, pointing out the full implication
of such action, we can assist workers to
win their disputes. In this way we can
hope to gain their sympathy and change
their outlook on life to an anarchistic
one.

Workers today may not want the
responsibility of the running of their own
industries, but it is our job as anarchist
propagandists to get people to be responsi-
ble, not only at work, but in all spheres
of life.

E.E.B., Meter Reader.

P.T.

LETTER

INDUSTRIAL PEACE NEWS P

Dear Editors,

Pat Arrowsmith, who was appointed
to the newly-created role of reporter and
feature writer on *Peace News* on May 5,
was dismissed from the post on July 7.
The editor told her that her reporting
was unsatisfactory and he did not feel
she could fit into the editorial team.

Pat felt that she had been unfairly
treated, as she had been taken on with-
out being told she was on three months'
probation, and she was given scarcely
any opportunity to discuss the work she
was doing and to try to rectify any
faults the editor may have thought were
appearing. She was dismissed after two

months.

Pat appealed to the *Peace News* Board
for a re-assessment of her work and a
reconsideration of her dismissal. They
disposed of the matter in half an hour,
endorsing the editor's decision without
discussing her work at all. The NUJ
tried to get Pat re-instated without
success.

Many readers have commented favour-
ably on Pat's work. Many people in the
peace movement are very concerned at
Pat's treatment from the paper and a
committee has been formed to consider
what further action might be taken to
secure her re-instatement.

W.B.

and we will still start at 8 . . .

O weeks ago about the
er starting times on the
d. The Board gave us
e shop stewards another.
other areas involved have
the times set by our
that is an 8 a.m. start
(a.m.) but since then some
occurred.

t to the Union branch
Monday, July 12, I found
le there. The fact that
ng has only 11 people
e is a dispute on, shows
is very, very wrong with
rades Union. We were
that the Board's repre-
refused to discuss the
special meeting had been
as the only item on the
our representatives who
t. Arguments started as
should have walked out
'failed to agree', but it
pointless since there were
members in that particular
the shop stewards weren't
the men themselves.

15, however, came the
was to be a meeting at
meeting opened and our
he had had instructions
official that we should
8.30 a.m. as the Board
g negotiations. The stand
rd seems to be collapsing

throughout the area. Other depots had
decided to obey the union (under protest),
though at one depot the men were
protesting by not paying union dues, as
well as starting at 8. We heard also
(off the cuff) that any negotiations would
end with the same result as last time.
So what is the point of changing our
minds, awaiting negotiations if we already
know that we will not be listened to?

A CHANGE OF HEART

Three votes were taken at a quite well
attended meeting at work on Thursday
evening (the correct place for union
business). At the first, only five voted
to disobey union and management; this
five however managed to talk the others
round and it was decided that we will
still start at eight and finish at five. In
Birmingham there are people on strike
over this issue. It is really over whether
we have our time off when we want it
or when they want to give it to us. We
want the time off at night when we can
use it and not in the morning. Added
to that, on our job in particular we
would certain'y get better results as
regards productivity by starting at eight.
In fact it's really a struggle over job
control. It's also becoming a struggle
over who controls the union; the men in
it, or the executive. The thing that
seemed to get everyone's back up was
that we were being told to do things by
management and union. As it was pointed
out by one who shall be nameless: we pay
the executive, we elect them to do our
bidding, not to give us orders. It seems
that the whole idea of unionism has
been turned upside down and needed
turning back again. Apparently in the
ETU (since the event of the new anti-
totalitarian leadership) the executive gives
orders to the area official who gives
them to the shop steward (whether he
likes it or not) who is supposed to give

double our
ion in 1965!